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ABSTRACT

A rationale for pluralistic education is presented in this paper. It discusses the meaning of the cultural, racial, and ethnic aspects of pluralism in American group life. The discussion addresses three issues: the persistence of ethnic groups in American society, the shared heritage of American traditions, and the importance of personal and group identity in the education of every American. Three criteria for pluralistic education or three major underlying assumptions about pluralistic education are delineated. These are: (1) knowledge and understanding of the heritage of other groups that make up the pluralistic culture of Americans, and (3) knowledge and understanding of the relationship between and among people that form and have formed the ethnic groups in the United States. Also presented is the rationale for a coalition of the movements that are represented in pluralistic education, namely, integration, bilingualism, ethnicity, and the women's movement. An annotated bibliography on ethnicity and ethnic heritage studies is included. (Author/AM)

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DEALING WITH DIFFERENCE:
A GUIDE FOR PLURALISTIC EDUCATION

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by
Edith W. King

Pluralistic Education for
Today's Schools

University of Denver
June, 1977

Americans put too much faith in education as a means of solving social problems. In past generations the school system did a magnificent job of Americanizing the children of the immigrants. Unfortunately, however, this socialization left deep scars. For to be American meant to be white, middle class and Protestant. Catholics, non-whites, and Jews were marginal -- not part of the mainstream of American society. Now things are beginning to change and we hear more about the new pluralism or the resurgence of ethnicity than about the old melting pot.

This kind of pluralism that not only fights for the rights of subgroups to exist as such but also for their cultural heritage to be advanced and valued as part of an American heritage. It would legitimate the pluralistic reality of American life and allow ethnics to deal with themselves as complete individuals. They would neither exclude nor suppress their ethnicity. We must cease thinking of Indians, Chicanos, Puerto-Ricans or Blacks as culturally deprived or culturally disadvantaged. Yet white ethnicity can be more disturbing in many ways than non-white ethnicity. There are few today who would deny the Blacks, Indians, Spanish-Americans or Asian Americans their right to a distinctive subculture. These subcultures exist and we are rushing to give them recognition. But when we talk of the Italians, Poles, Irish, or Jews -- that is another story. Many believe that the distinctions among these groups are much more a matter of economic and social class than of ethnic origin. The belief is also widespread that by focussing on ethnic distinctiveness we might deepen the already fragmented nature of our society.

The Persistent Quality of Ethnicity

However, we cannot deny the influence of ethnicity in our daily lives. We can cite a growing body of writing on the persistence of ethnicity in American group life. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan in 1963 published their famous study of ethnic groups in New York City, titled Beyond the Melting Pot. This study looked at Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish in New York City. In the 1970 reissue of the volume, they state:

In Beyond the Melting Pot, we suggested that ethnic groups, owing to their distinctive historical experiences, their cultures and skills, the time of their arrival and the economic situation they met, developed distinctive economic, political and cultural patterns. As the old culture fell away--and it did rapidly enough--a new one, shaped by the distinctive experiences of life in America was formed and a new identity was created. Italian-Americans might share precious little with Italians in Italy, but in America they were a distinctive group that maintained itself, was identifiable and gave something to those who were identified with it, just as it also gave burdens that those in the group had to bear.¹

Recent research supports these conclusions. We must recognize that considerable variation exists among ethnic groups though they may be in the same social and economic class. Andrew Greeley has defined the term "ethnic identification" as the place in which one puts oneself in the ethnic chart. Greeley writes that one's ethnic heritage is defined as "the explicit and conscious recollection of one's past history, either in the Old World or in the United States." And he adds that one's ethnic culture includes the attitudes, personality, styles and behaviors that correlate with ethnic identification or ethnic origin.²

There is no doubt that ethnicity persists as a central factor in the lives of white city residents. And when these white ethnics move to the suburbs they carry their ethnic identity with them. In his study of the residents of Levittown, Pennsylvania, Herbert Gans found that once they were settled, the new Levittowners sought out those most like themselves; those of the same ethnic group. Ethnically-based voluntary groups were established earlier than those based exclusively on class. It was natural that people with the same life styles should gravitate toward each other. Life style is a matter of economic class but it is also a matter of ethnic habits. "One informed group," Gans writes, "called (itself) the Happy Hours Club (and) consisted of previously urban and primarily Italian couples who like to stay up late and complained that their neighbors went to bed at 10 P.M. every night."³ The suburb as represented by Levittown is thus not an undifferentiated, homogeneous mass. People sort themselves out by economic class, ethnic origin and religious affiliation.

The persistence of ethnic groups in our society is due to both negative and positive factors. When the primary reason for group affiliation is hostility from the outside, it is inevitable that ethnicity seems more like a prison than an opportunity. But people are drawn to ethnic identification because of the advantages it offers. The ethnic group can be a buffer between the individual and the broader society. Individuals use ethnicity as a filter for forming their identity. Ethnic affiliations function to organize interactions among individuals and groups of people, whether on social, economic, political or religious lines. Ethnicity is now recognized as a central force in socialization, a force that is at work over time as well as space.

What About Our American Heritage?

Before we leave the matter of ethnicity in general, we must remember that there is a sense in which we are all Anglo-Saxons or "Americans All". Anglo-

Saxonism is the cement which holds the country together. Our political system, and our social ideals have been decisively influenced by seventeenth and eighteenth century Englishmen. When we stress ethnicity then, it is within the context of a strong belief in the viability of the constitution and the ideals of a democratic republic.

There is a shared heritage of distinctly American traditions, celebrations such as the 4th of July, Labor Day, Memorial Day. We commemorate these special occasions with picnics and parades. Our public schools have been the social institution for inculcating the customs, traditions, and folklore of the Anglo-American heritage. It is equally a proud tradition and one we do not wish to banish or relinquish.

Our museums and historical societies from coast to coast, in great cities and in small towns exhibit relics and artifacts that represent this major American heritage. This is a heritage that now, after 200 years of existence has evolved into a uniquely and solely American ethnicity. Stamp and coin collectors specializing in American collections will attest to this. Our uniquely American tradition is emblazoned on every coin, "In God We Trust", on almost every stamp from Stuart's portrait of George Washington to the astronauts' voyage to the moon.

This sense that all of us are part of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of our country, this Americanism, is also a proud heritage which should not be eschewed in the movement to give recognition and power to diverse ethnic groups. What we are calling for then, is ethnic pluralism, the opportunity for the many subcultures, the many ethnic groups to participate in American group life.

Identity and Education

Group identity is decisively influenced by what happens in the schools. By the time a child comes to school he or she already has a set of language habits and a set of behavioral modes which are determined by his ethnic background. If the school, however, subtly, undermines the value of these characteristics, it is inevitable that the child would have less of a sense of self as a human being. Recent research indicates that there may be a direct relationship between a child's self-esteem (or the lack of it) and the ability to learn. The sense of inferiority which many ethnic children have, makes the learning process much more difficult. In the Schools and Group Identity: Educating for a New Pluralism, Judith Herman synthesizes and summarizes some of the important research on the child's ethnic identity, feelings of self adequacy and the ability to learn and achieve in school.

Looking at the history of ethnic groups' relationship to the public schools, some historians are beginning to find that the great myth of schools serving as "engines" of upward mobility" has not been equally true for all ethnic groups. From studies of achievement in the early part of the century and a few studies of ethnic mobility, it looks like an ethnic group "made it" into the middle class and then saw its children do well.⁴

The schools have done much to make ethnics feel inferior. They have been the primary agents in what some scholars call linguisticide. Considering the ethnic makeup of this country we should be a poly-lingual society in which almost everyone speaks a "native" language in addition to standard English. Instead, Americans are noted or rather are notorious, for their weaknesses in speaking foreign languages. Public elementary schools have been moving gingerly into the area of language education but frequently the language taught is not the most prominent second language in the community or geographical area. For example, in San Francisco, the school system seems locked

into the "French-atin" syndrome though there is a very large ethnic community there that speaks languages other than French from which the public schools could have chosen second language offerings -- Italian, Japanese, Spanish, even Chinese.

The United States Government has recently given some recognition to the right of our subcultures to perpetuate themselves by establishing a network of bi-lingual education centers around the country. In 1968 Congress passed the Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act that led to the establishment of programs involving thousands of pupils, particularly in the Southwest, in some form of bi-lingual, bi-cultural education. Most of the programs were in Spanish but there were also some in French, Chinese, Japanese and Indian dialects.

There is a growing consensus among many ethnic groups and among aware educators that a tension between ethnic or group particularism and the universals of the common culture is what will keep us creative and genuine. This is certainly not an easy system to explain or teach. But it does give a more rational basis for the operation of the public school classroom in a culturally diverse society. An example of the desire to promulgate this mandate for ethnic studies is the project of the National Council for the Social Studies during 1975 and 1976. The National Council for the Social Studies recognized that the nation's schools needed sound guidelines for designing and implementing ethnic studies programs and for integrating their curricula with ethnic content. In 1975 the Council applied for and received, an Ethnic Heritage grant under the Title of E.S.E.A. to formulate and disseminate guidelines for ethnic studies programs and to discuss these guidelines with teachers at national and regional meetings to help improve instruction related to ethnicity in the schools. An "Ethnic Studies Program Evaluation Checklist" was also developed. Its purpose was to encourage and assist in the assessment

of specific school environments to determine the extent to which they reflect the idealized school which is described in the Guidelines. The Guidelines describe goals which each school can strive to achieve.⁵

Criteria For Pluralistic Education

There is always the fear that by encouraging the differences we find in our students, we might be encouraging hostility and conflict among them.

The ethnic conflicts of the 1970's seem to be tearing our society apart and no educator would want to deepen the polarization. Change, however, always has its risks as well as its possible rewards and we have no choice but to attempt to improve relations among groups in what ever way we can. It would be facile and simpleminded to think that curriculum innovations could solve such a complex problem as group conflict. There are ways, however, in which ethnic studies as a vital part of every aspect of the school curriculum might contribute to the amelioration of these conflicts and at the same time prepare children to become citizens of a multi-cultural society and a multi-ethnic world.

We believe this calls for infusing teaching in every aspect with pluralistic approach. Pluralistic education means responding to the culture that each child brings into the classroom; and not only responding to that culture, but using it and enhancing it. Some teachers and educators have stated that there are children who bring no culture with them into the classroom. This is definitely fallacious! Nobody is culture-less. The question is, rather, how does the school and the teacher accept and understand the culture, heritage and tradition that the child brings to the school when he or she enters it.

We delineate three basic criteria or three underlying assumptions for pluralistic education. We state them here first, then we will elaborate on their meanings and implications for teaching. The criteria for pluralistic

education are:

- 1) knowing one's own identity, one's own heritage and traditions. Who are your people? What were their practices, customs, and ways.
- 2) knowing about other groups in the nation; what other groups in the nation than one's own are present in American life.
- 3) knowing about the relationships between these ethnic groups; are the relationships between various groups ones of mutuality and support, or ones of antagonism and hostility. Have these relationships existed historically over centuries, over decades, or are they very current?

Criteria 1 -- Knowing One's Own Identity: It is necessary in America, today, to help put people in contact with their own identity and their own past and heritage. This is as true for adults as it is for children. In sections of this vast nation, with its patterns of extensive mobility, individuals have lost contact with their immigrant past or distinctive family ethnicity. Charles Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein in their recent book, Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations write, "There are large numbers of Americans who find it possible to trace descent to foreign nations and cultures such as Germany, Great Britain, and Canada, yet who retain little if any of an Old World cultural heritage. Their life styles are largely indistinguishable from others of similar socioeconomic classes....."⁶

Some Americans are of mixed traditions with various ethnic heritages represented on one side of the family or the other. Inter-marriage in the distant past with indigenous groups such as Native Americans characterizes the family lineage of many Americans.

Our early socialization in the family setting is usually the most significant and long-lasting experience we encounter through life. These family experiences carry for us deeply pleasureable or sometimes, deeply painful

memories. Activities that occur in a family context shape one's personality, one's identity, one's self concept. If we are to recognize and identify the basic heritage and traditions that we hold uniquely as individuals. It is through our family and their heritage that we will find them. Therefore, we must put people in touch with their own family, tradition and background. This is as true for teachers as it is for their students.

Then where does the school and the curriculum come in? In her exciting book, The Schools and Socialization, Audrey James Schwartz puts it this way:

Schools are in an ideal position to redress many of the injustices that have historically been thrust upon the racially and ethnically different. Through an emphasis on cultural pluralism, they can foster a child's favorable identification with his or her own family and culture; they can reduce racial-ethnic self-hatred increase self-esteem; and they can create greater tolerance for cultural diversity.

The school curriculum as well as our daily programs offer many opportunities for helping the individual identify and value his or her family heritage and tradition. For example, the teacher does not need a special occasion or holiday to assign children, at almost any age level, to interview their grandparents and ask them about specific events. These events could center around a holiday or special occasion, or around an historical event. But the interview process can be much less structured and general. The child will find the grandparent open and quite willing to recount past experiences and impressions. A new rapport and understanding occurs between the generations in these interviews. The younger person finds values and practices exist that, often, he or she never realized or heard articulated. And the older person feels needed, wanted, and of importance for the child, the family and the larger society. Later in this publication we will suggest specific activities and exercises for helping students learn about their own ethnicity and family heritage.

Criteria 2 -- Knowing About Other Groups: Not only should we be able to conceptualize and understand our own ethnicity and our own heritage we must also be knowledgeable and have understandings about others ethnicity, about other groups. Blacks are desirous of learning about the many facets of black ethnic and racial heritage, just as whites are concerned about the varieties of the white ethnic experience. But we must not stop with this. We need to develop what some ethnic scholars call "ethnic literacy." The Guidelines of the National Council for the Social Studies put it this way:

Because ethnicity is important in the lives of many Americans, it is important that all members of our society develop "ethnic literacy," a solidly based understanding of ethnicity and ethnic groups. Schools cannot afford to ignore their responsibility to contribute to the development of ethnic literacy and understanding. Only a well-conceived, sensible, thorough, and continuous program of multi-ethnic erudition can create the broadly based ethnic literacy so necessary for the future of our nation and world society.⁸

This knowledge about groups other than one's own, calls for understanding the origins through time and space of various groups. It is particularly important that the individual, whether it is children or adults, know about the ethnic and racial groups that are found in their region, geographical area or their community, since it is reasonable that at one time or another interactions and a close proximity will occur. It is important that not just the minority group in the community understand its customs, heritage, origin, tradition and future prospects. When we all share in the values and traditions of a group of people we give credence and validity to their members. Also, when we have factual knowledge about people we realize just how large or small their number may be in comparison to other groups in the nation. Facts and information give us realizations of the length of time, the historical background that some ethnic groups have lived in America. This is particularly

true of Spanish-Americans and Native Americans of the Southwest, whose tradition goes back to the 16th Century and before. We tend to forget that some peoples lived on the American continent long before the European and more specifically the Anglo-Saxon tradition came to America. We think of this country as a vast empty land that was filled up and civilized by the Europeans since this is the way most history books in the public schools have been presenting American History until recently.

As Carlos Cortes, historian and chairman of the Chicano Studies Department at University of California - Riverside characterizes it, "At best, most books and curricula on U.S. history, society and culture give only token recognition to the development of cultures in America prior to the coming of the European; the growth of the Native American, Hispanic and Mexican civilizations before the U.S. conquest of their territory; and the flow of civilizations into the United States other than east-to-west from Europe."⁹ Cortes goes on to urge that we reject the simplistic, unidirectional approach with which we have taught history in the schools in the past and provide more accurate and authentic information for students at every age and grade level.

Criteria 3 -- Knowing About The Relationships Between Groups: We need to have more extensive knowledge as well as empathy for relationship between ethnic and racial groups. Are these relationships ones of mutuality or ones of hostility and long-held antagonism? Has there been a history of domination of one group over the other? Has the hostility and enmity endured over the years in a smoldering, covert fashion or has it been expressed in riots, lynchings and actions like the Klu Klux Klan exhibited during the 1920's and 30's?

What are the tensions that persist between ethnic groups? Are they found in the political, economic, social or educational areas? How virulent and detrimental are these tensions and prejudices? Walter Dill Killian comments upon the situation with sagacity in his famous work, America As a Civilization. Killian writes:

From the beginning there were stereotypes imposed upon the more marginal immigrants. As was perhaps natural, the members of each new wave of immigration were assigned the lowliest tasks. The basic pattern was, however, for the immigrants of each new influx to be in time absorbed by the rest, yielding the role of strangeness in turn to the still later comers. Most of them moved up the hierarchical ladder, while those who followed grasped eagerly the lowly places that had been relinquished. 10

A more recent study that examined ethnic group tensions and the process of ethnic succession in businesses, professions, and in politics, was carried out by the Institute for Ethnicity and Group Identity. In the publication, Moving Up: Ethnic Succession in America this phenomenon of ethnic conflict and bargaining for power and status in American society was documented in a case study of the Philadelphia schools. The authors, Daniel Flazar and Murray Friedman open their study with the following statement:

The growing demands of these groups have resulted in not simply the white-black confrontations that are familiar to most Americans, but in a series of group collisions: between blacks and Jews over teaching positions in the New York schools; between Newark's black and Italian groups for political power; between Chicanos and blacks in Los Angeles over leadership in poverty programs; and among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews over issues of abortion, pornography, and government aid to parochial schools. We are aware--painfully aware--that racial and ethnic strains have been a source of friction and even violence in our communities. 11

Not until recently have feelings of ethnics, whether they were or minority group status or not, been expressed in open, loud and angry voices. It was much more usual for ethnics to voice their hurt and confusion at the insensitivity of the white majority in the privacy of their homes or in intimacy with their fellow ethnics. But all this has been changing as blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and most recently women, are speaking up in public and on the mass media. Before we leave this final criteria that focuses on the relationships between ethnic groups, we must not leave out the crucial and influential place of television, films, and newspaper play in the movement for pluralism in America today. Pointing to television alone, with its ethnic superstars such as Tony Orlando and Dawn, Bill Cosby, Flip Wilson, just to begin the list and some now long-standing shows such as 'All in the Family', 'Good Times', 'The Jeffersons' and more recently 'Unico and the Man' and the list goes on -- the ethnic images and stereotypes are being changed, modified and even shaped. New conceptions of ethnic relationships are forming as the mass media and instant communication makes the world what one linguist called 'a whispering gallery'. There are we moving; we are moving into a pluralistic society that mandates pluralistic education for all its public schools.

The Relationship Between Pluralism, Ethnicity, Integration, Sex Role Identity, and Bilingualism For Education.

We believe that it is time that public education take the initiative and develop linkages between the movements for integration, ethnic heritage, bilingualism and the women's movement. Each of these forces represents important aspects of American life, but none by itself can bring about the changes needed in our systems. Joining together in a coalition that works to meet

the shared interest of all of the parts can accomplish much. We have discussed the forces that are promoting a new recognition of ethnicity in our society. This resurgence of ethnicity also encompasses integration.

The movement for bi-lingual and bi-cultural education represents another major movement by the educational system to respond to student diversity. The subject of bilingual education is not only a "hot political potato," but also has some serious philosophical problems for most traditional educators. The standard educational philosophy for the school systems as they dealt with language for the last century has been that English is the language of America and to allow the use of any other language in the system, especially at the elementary level or outside of learning a foreign language, was doing a disservice to the student. To enable the student to maintain his native language, if it was other than English, was to diminish the opportunity for the student to compete in the American system. Many stories are told of children, who came from homes where languages other than English were spoken, who were punished or ridiculed for using that language in school.

Today, this basic American public school philosophy is being seriously challenged by the Hispanic community and is being echoed by other ethnic groups who speak languages other than English. It is felt that language is one of the strongest psychic bonds and it has been pointed out that the new language is not learned cognitively like mathematics, but is primarily an emotional and perceptual experience. Even if the children are able to cope with the new language, they may associate the classroom with a high-cultural value and their home cultures and mother-tongues with inferior culture values to the detriment of their own self-esteem.

Current bi-lingual education, as it is being carried out in many parts of the United States, is based on two major premises. The first is that there are important psychological supports in the native language itself and the

identification of culture, family values and a sense of belonging to one's ethnic group are tied intimately with the language of that group. To destroy the language is to isolate the child from his family and inheritance. Secondly, that the child who does not speak English as he or she enters the public school is disadvantaged in the learning of subject matter if it is only taught in English. Therefore, subject matter should be taught in English and in other native language in order that the student not fall behind in content while at the same time learning English as a second language.

Even though today a large number of school systems are using bi-lingual education to meet the needs of their non-English speaking students, there remains serious community conflicts about the value and cost of such programs. These conflicts exist not only among various ethnic groups but within the faculty of many school systems. We see the main problem areas as:

1) the strong feeling that English is the only proper language for Americans to speak; 2) the fear that the cost of bi-lingual education is higher than mono-lingual education; and 3) the concern that older faculty members, who are not bi-lingual, will be dismissed from their school positions. These represent the issues surrounding bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism.

The components of pluralistic education also encompass the issues that compose the Women's Movements. The recognition of the social forces that shape the child's sex-role identity and the sex-role stereotypes have been an inherent part of education through the years. If women and girls have been discriminated against from the first picture books and stories in children's literature to the textbooks in history, civics, government, literature even in mathematics courses, it has been accomplished with the uncontested support of the overwhelming number of female teachers who work with children. The identity conflicts, concerns, educational and vocational goals of women

and men in our society, we must have a part of pluralistic education as is
bi-lingualism and ethnic group education. In her article in Dialogues on
Diversity aptly titled "The Women's Movement Meets the Challenge of Diversity"

Catherine Senechal writes

...most importantly, we must learn to accept,
respect and support group and individual
differences. We cannot underestimate how
difficult that is going to be. We are, as
people, inherently biased in 150 different
ways. Our sense of security seems to come from
being a certain way, someone else, whoever that
someone else may be. I think that we all have
those days and need to put down other
people. We find it difficult to accept the
...without

...and ... in the educational process, whether it be ethnic,
linguistic or ... are recognizing the need for
pluralistic education and the role ethnic plays in the curriculum, the
educational materials used, and the values and attitudes that teachers
hold.

Summary

...the ...
for ...
cultural ...
has led us through the ... of the persistence of ethnic affiliations,
as well as the ... the importance
of ... today.
Schools can no longer ... and the pluralistic nature of our society.
We must ... the curriculum ... for the ethnic
groups represented ... to educate ... literacy.



We have related here three basic criteria, three major assumptions about pluralistic education. These are:

1) Knowledge and understanding of one's own heritage, background, family history, or what every ethnic and racial make-up it may be;

2) Knowledge and understanding of the heritage of other groups that make up the pluralistic life of Americans.

3) Knowledge and understanding of the relationship between and among people that form the various groups in the United States, historically and currently.

Finally, it is important to state that a definition of the word "ethnic" that includes all of the following -- immigration, bilingualism, ethnicity, etc. -- is necessary.

Footnotes

¹ Nathan Glazer and Daniel J. Ryan, Beyond the Melting Pot - The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jew, Italians and Irish of New York City. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1958; 1970; 1970 edition p. xxiii

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⁴ Judith Herman, editor. The Schools and Group Identity: Educating for a New Pluralism. New York: Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, American Jewish Committee, 1974 p. 22.

⁵ National Council for the Social Studies, Ethnic Heritage Studies Guidelines Committee, Ethnic Studies Curriculum Guidelines. Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1976

⁶ Charles A. Culbert and Robert S. Rubenstein, Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Characteristics. New York: Elsevier: Scientific Publ. Co. 1974, page 11

⁷ Quincy James Schwartz, The Schools and Socialization. New York: Harper and Row, 1975. page 89.

⁸ National Council for the Social Studies, Ethnic Heritage Studies Committee. Ethnic Heritage Curriculum Guidelines. Washington, D.C. Nat. Council for Social Studies, 1975, p. 6.

⁹ "Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Practices for Multi-ethnic Education". Social Science Information, Vol. 13, No. 2, October, 1975: Boulder, Colorado.

¹⁰ ... and ... Schuster, 1977, ...

¹¹ ... Ethnic Succession in America. ... 1976, p. 1.

¹² Catherine Samuels, "The New York ... meets the Challenge of Diversity" in Diversity, ... edited by Barbara Peters and Victoria Samuels. New York: ... 1975, p. 64.